

50

SRA Federation Bulletin

FOR Anarchist

Information & correspondence organ of the SRA
MAKHNO BRIGADE (Indiana, PA):
Friends,

The Makhno Brigade has collapsed. Since last June it has lived a precarious existence due to loss of members because of people moving and political disagreements. Since March, disagreements between Anarchists and Libertarian Communists increased and hurt the organization. Now, the last of us have finished graduate or undergraduate work here and are moving on to other areas. Some of us, like myself, are going to the Pittsburgh area and hope to do some agitation there. Once we can contact other Anarchists we have been in touch with there, we hope to revive our SRAF organization in Pittsburgh.

The radical film and lecture educational series we worked on at Indiana, both in conjunction with the Working Class History Caucus and by ourselves, may continue, but this all depends on how many people will be left in the WC History group. One of our members had been working with the Gay movement on the IUP campus, which is about to launch an alternative newsletter this February. There will be an Anarchist column in the paper, and one of our people has written an article for it.

Well, so much for now. I'll write again when some of us have established ourselves in the Pittsburgh area.

Please send my copy of the bulletin to the address below. Enclosed is \$3 for another year. Solidarity,

Marc Hazur
573 Peters St., Verona, Pa 15147

SEA SRAF
Dear SRAF
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Susa

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birth, to cling to its mother's body, women must generally have been less mobile, more tied to shelter & hearthside, than men, with a consequent limitation in the range (tho not the depth) of their experience. Sexism is older than humanity. So is authoritarianism--when there's benefit to be gained, the strong bully the weak, because they can get away with it, until the weak figure out how to cope with that, eg, by ganging up, by improved weaponry, by sneak tactics, etc. Women probably got sneaky pretty early in the game--another thing for men to hold against them. With cultural institutionalization of this primeval competition for the goodies of hunt & harvest (note that in a lot of animal & primitive human societies, the males eat first, females & young get the left-overs) the fracture-line of sex was already at hand in all societies, including those small & isolated ones too genetically homogeneous to have any other basis for dichotomy. (Except a permanent basis for discrimination--as children learn very early on, which is probably how they so often survive it with minimal psychic damage.)

With the whole species divisible by sex, every newborn infant is subjected to the cultural processes that will trim his/her personality to the social role considered appropriate (& those roles may well've been actually appropriate, because practically unavoidable, to H. habilis or whoever started all this) to her/his sex. What it amounts to is that from our earliest imaginable prehistory, the male half of the (pre-) human race has been indoctrinated & trained from birth to exercise dominance over the female half; & the female half has got reciprocal indoctrination & training in servility (this usually includes, for a girl, some education in how to mitigate the harshness of her lot by artful indirection, which education & its masculine reciprocal are responsible for a lot of the observable (tho generally overestimated) differences between men's & women's characteristic thought/behavior patterns); & both halves are given to understand thereby that the universal division of humanity into domineering & domineered is the natural, hence right or at least immutable, order of things; & the lives of both sexes are patterend to pass that understanding down, both by example & by precept, to their own male & female of--

spring. Thus sexism becomes the basic cultural example of the dominance/submissiveness relationship, that which conditions a primeval society's young to accept the "naturalness" and "rightness" of whatever other institutionalized authority-concepts that society might acquire as its experience & its contacts with other societies develop. All modern societies are inheritors of that tradition; the rest--racism, nationalism, etc--is overlay.

The other comment is re Bob Wilson's appreciation of Red Warthan's "I beat his head in". Tho I'd rather Beth had done the head-beating, I agree with Bob that makes a lot better sense than anything else SRAF's said about rape, including both articles in Black Star. Don't call the pigs. Deal with it yourself. But deal with it. My own pacifism ends where my skin starts. Apparently that works--I've got thru 55 years without ever being raped & without (hardly ever) throwing the 1st punch. Since there are predatory characters around, the only non-masochistic alternative to depending on the pigs (yours or theirs; pigs is pigs) for defense--& thereby legitimizing the pigs' function--is willingness to defend oneself. Sure you'll get hurt sometimes, but who ever said non-conformism was easy? (It can still be fun, though!)

PS:--That green ink is hard to read. The blue was better. On white paper, I like grey; it looks almost black, but doesn't show through as much.

Have fun, Louise

MTN. VIEW SRAF (Mountain View, California): SRAFed's,

As of January 1, 1976 we can no longer call ourselves a "co-op". The Associated Cooperatives, Inc., has lobbied & obtained a law in California banning all use of the word "coop, cooperative, etc) unless the organization is organized under the General Corporations Code of California. Housing co-ops are exempt. Also, we received the following letter:

"Dear Sir:

"I've a client wishing to sell books (noncompetitive with your own line) through direct mail. He's asked me to recommend, and to procure, mailing lists for his one-time use. Your own list of customers and inquirers seems well suited. If you are interested in renting your list, I'll be

SRA Federation Bulletin #50 -- page three

pleased to supply more details. (Just in case you've not rented before, net proceeds recently to others have been \$300 per 1000 names per year, and more.)

Cordially, Charles Moore

It occurs to us that of the readers of this bulletin there might be some who want to receive some more junk mail and maybe others who know the names of others who might also like to be put onto this mailing list. We will not send them the names of anyone who does not give us their permission to do this. We don't know anything about these types of deals, but it may be possible to receive some money for SRAF out of this. We'll appreciate other comments anyone might have about going on with this idea.

Freequally, Jim

MAD-SRAF (Madison, Wisconsin):
Comrades,

I've just mailed out to all SRAF groups my latest project. It's fake questionnaire whose primary (original) writers can be reached thru Intervention, Box 460, Berkeley CA 94701. It was altered slightly and passed out at registration & classes in Madison & Milwaukee. I was dragged down to the university police station & interrogated by "the captain", when some turkey called the pork. I was given my rights & had mug shots taken & I'm still waiting to find out if I will be prosecuted.

Students are so dumb as a whole, that I've been getting the questionnaires back answered seriously!! If you take that questionnaire for real, you could believe anything! We're working on a Don't Vote campaign for the coming elections.

Never despair, Polar Bear!

Scott

CC SRAF (Cook County, Illinois):
Fellow SRAFs,

I'm beginning to come to the conclusion that this argument over capitalism is secondary to the issue of whether SRAF should be a completely open organization. Neither Shea, Stewart, nor Wilson seem particularly enthusiastic about capitalism but seem to be arguing over the abstract point (I say 'abstract' because there's little evidence to suggest any large degree of participation in SRAF by 'anarcho-capitalists') of whether they should be allowed in the organization.

Apparently neither the SRAF Declaration nor Article 2 of the Principles of Association has impressed it upon them that SRAF is opposed to capitalism (assuming that each of them understands that term). Now that I believe I more clearly perceive the topic of discussion I wish to address myself to it.

It's always been my contention that SRAF would find its coherence in its activity (see bulletin #36). I felt that as we began to cooperate on collective projects we'd naturally gravitate towards efforts which confront the modes of authoritarianism dominating contemporary society, primarily capitalism & patriarchy. These projects would, in practice, separate us clearly from the capitalists who tend to gravitate toward such 'liberatory' projects as buying gold & silver, and ripping each other off.

My theory, then, has been put to the test by my participation in the Black Star project. So far I've been spared the distasteful experience of dealing with an article in favor of 'anarcho-capitalism'. In this respect my theory has proved itself. However a new obstacle has reared its head in our path towards unity of purpose. This is the complete absence of a decision-making procedure in SRAF. I, along with others in the BS project have been confronted with numerous problems whose solutions may greatly affect not only the future of Black Star but also of SRAF. We've written of these problems to Bullprod (the project bulletin), but our requests for advice have, with a few exceptions, gone unheeded. When decisions could be sloughed off no longer we (CC SRAF) have been forced to make them ourselves, which has resulted in catcalls deriding our "authoritarianism".

Now I can see underlying this question of open vs closed organization, even more basic questions such as "what is the purpose of SRAF?" and "How do we achieve that purpose?" If the purpose of SRAF is merely to provide communications between various tendencies in the anarchist movement, then the problem of coherence is irrelevant & Bob Shea's thought on the matter are correct. Yet if the purpose of SRAF is to aid in the creation of an anarchist society, then the problems of the economy, culture, organization, etc become vitally important & some sort of coherence along Bruce's (St. Catherine's) line of thinking is essential. Thus

we're confronted by a very real dilemma and we've no means of resolving it. I've nothing against 'stumbling along' (as Glenn Meredith puts it) towards revolution but let's not stumble around in a circle. Therefore, I support the proposal for a continental conference so we can clear some of these things up.

I mentioned in my last letter that I'd begin discussing some of my ideas on the labor movement & job activity. Unfortunately I've already used up a lot of space, so I'll hold back on them until the next bulletin. I think that a good discussion on this subject should be started. The hassle is that I wouldn't want it to be a soliloquy. In order to encourage a discussion, therefore, I'm willing to type up the stencils of the 1 letters of those who would like to participate in a "Workers' Study Group". All letters concerning the discussion should be sent to Cook County SRAF. I'll type the stencils & compile them in a section under the subheading "Workers' Study Group", to be printed in the SRAF bull. The objective of the discussion will be to hash out a theoretical basis for a practice aimed at bringing about workers' self-management. I'd appreciate the participation of all SRAFed wage-slaves and rebel-workers. To aid in the discussion here is some suggested literature: Strike! by Jeremy Brecher; Rank and File, by Staughton Lynd; Radical America vol. 9, #4, "American Labor in the '40's"; The Eclipse and Reemergence of the Communist Movement, by Barrot & Martin (Black & Red); Unions Against Revolution, by Munis & Zerzan (Black & Red); Wildcat Dodge Truck (B&R); also the IWW is making arrangements for reprinting The IWW: The First Fifty Years, which would be worthwhile when it comes out; Interrogations #3, "Labor Bureaucracy & Wildcat Strikes", by Sam Dolgoff; Sam has also written a set of proposals and comments for the IWW which I'll send mimeoed for the price of postage or if requests are numerous I'll include in the bull. I only intend to do this if I get some response from other SRAFed. If not, I see no reason to waste my time and yours.

Stumbling down the road, Jeff

CC-SRAF member

((typist's note: the very idea of someone else typing stencils for this bulletin is appealing to me, in addition to the very

good and provocative content of Jeff's letter. Please use the 9-hole, gestetner-type stencil. We'll print the stencils and enclose them in the bulletin.))

SRAF (St. Catharines, Ontario):
Comrades,

First it's necessary to state for any of you who don't already know it that any communication with us anarchists in Canada has been disrupted due to a long mail strike which the workers did not win. As such a good deal of this letter deals in matters going back as far as October.

I recently finished reading Black Star #2 with which I was generally impressed. I found every article worth reading & in most cases I was in agreement with the arguments put forward. I also liked most of the graphics. There were a couple which put me off however. Particularly the ones of the church of the john and the outer space visitor. These make us anarchists look stupid as well as crude. Otherwise as I said before #2 was excellent. The most recent SRAF bulletin was quite good as well. Good news on one front. A person who used to lead a seminar on political philosophy I took last year now runs a bookstore in Edinborough, PA, told me that Black Star is very popular. He himself likes it. He considers it a 'gutsy' magazine.

In recent months my own activities have centered around getting the leftist coalition at the university here going. I'm happy to report my efforts have proven a success. There are nearly 10 of us & we work quite well together despite our mixed affiliations. The action which effectively got it off the ground was a forum I organized on Spain after the guerrillas there were executed. We had planned for 2 speakers however only Gary Jewell of the IWW made it as did 13 very interested people. His talk initially centered on Spain but developed into a discussion of anarcho-syndicalism & on the authoritarian nature of Bolshevism.

In the time since then we've had a debate on the nature of the social democrats up here, a film & some other minor activities. The remainder of the year should be fairly good.

Lastly I wish to remark on some questions raised in previous bulletins. For one thing I inquired as to a policing function in an anarchist society. Joffre Stewart scorned me for this. However I feel it worthwhile to point out that in the book Bakunin on Anarchy there were references to some judicial activities in Revolutionary Catechism and to an actual policing function in the latter part of the book which was written by some other anarchist. To me this backs up my belief in some type of policing function in anarchist community. This is NOT to say that there should be an institutionalized force. Further, I would point to the article on rape in Black Star #2 where the suggestion of a patrolling system for the protection of women alone at night is made. In my belief this does not violate the underlying principles of the self-management society we seek.

Last point. Somewhere I remember someone writing that there could be no such thing as an anarchist army. If this be the case then what were the Makhnovists? Senseless violence is unforgivable but on the other hand pacifism is suicide. Success will only come from a rejection of both.

Struggle hard in the New Year,
Bruce

SF-SRAF (San Francisco, California):
SRA Friends,

New Years eve '76. Sorrow for the dead & innocent of La Guardia airport, NYC. Joy for the active growth of the IWW and SRAF in the coming year.

The La Guardia airport bombing deserves the attention of SRAF. I think it was one of the most despicable anti-social, anti-human acts in our time. I also think SRAF should affirm, if it wants to as a whole, its dedication to the principles of nonviolent direct action as a means to a world of communication, freedom and understanding. I don't know if the La Guardia incident was politically motivated, but just the same, I think the latter needs to be said.

In SRAF #49, a communication from Jeff CC-SRAF came to be interesting to me. For reasons of reality and the pragmatice, the IWW rejecting the nlrb, govt regulation, and wage demands in favor of job control doesn't see the forest for the trees. The

IWW, in order to get the beginnings of respect from the worker who makes your phonograph record, brings the food to your neighborhood and everything else, has to deal in tangibles, real stuff, rather than abstractions or groovy fantasies.

On the job organizing for better wages and conditions, coupled with patient doses of education is what the OBU needs to do. Support for workers in industries other than one's own and a stick-to-it attitude is also what we need. Job control is what we want, but there is no easy way to get it. It takes hard work, and even compromise for the present, to even start thinking about getting it. As for the parliamentary structure of the IWW, it has kept the union alive for 70 years. As for Jeff's stance on so-called "embryonic forms of underground organization of rebellious workers themselves" really! How far do you wager you could get with cloak and dagger unionism? Starship's words of wisdom "The underground ain't no place for hiding now".

The IWW is open to all kinds of people regardless of their politics or lack of them. I really don't see Jeff's internally rigid structure "in the IWW there is room for both conventional union organizing and the innovating organizing activity he talks about. Let the trial begin, but as we have seen, visibility gets results.

Enjoyed Bob Wilson's comments in #49 add where can I sign up for the Lovelace for President Committee? I'm having lots of problems with college, keeping the local IWW in focus, etc, but things are generally okay. "You can help yourself, but don't take too much."

John Krug, Box 40485, SF, CA 94140

TORONTO, ONTARIO:

Dear friends:

My friend and fellow esperantist Jurgen Kuhl has introduced me to your bulletin which I found very interesting for the richness in food for the thought that it contains. The variety of opinions and yet the mutual respect for each other's points of view shows the difference in attitudes with those of so many schools of thought be them political, religious or whatever, but almost always desperately dogmatic and narrow minded.

With special interest I read the letters in Esperanto, giving to the bulletin a world-wide scope, and I am looking forward to the day when the international language will be commonly used by all the libertarians, who believe in a society without borders or limitations in the relations among human beings.

My interest for Esperanto, as well as for humanistic and libertarian ideals, comes from the time (many years ago) when I was a teenager; it was during the years of the Spanish Civil War when youthful idealism and enthusiasm made us believe that the goals of a truly libertarian society were just around the corner. Well, as the things went, it became evident that the way to such a society was a long and harsh one, but the hope is not yet dead. One of the incentives that has helped to maintain such a hope is precisely Esperanto. Direct contact with fellow esperantists, besides the fact that it creates long-lived friendships proves that all over the world there are human beings with the same goals, same ideals, same hopes. Esperanto has been specially popular among anarchists: Errico Malatesta from Italy, Henr Day from Belgium, Taigi Yamaga from Japan, to mention only a few of the best known libertarians, learnt and used Esperanto. Leo Tolstoy became acquainted with the basics of the language in only 24 hours of study, and the Spanish free thinker and pedagogue Francisco Ferrer, creator of the Modern School, looked forward to a future use of Esperanto in the teaching in his rationalistic school.

Every year there are several Esperanto congresses and conferences attended by esperantists from all over the world, but of special interest is the Congress of S.A.T. (Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda), the World Movement of Worker Esperantists, where it is possible to discuss freeling about the different schools of the socialist thought. The libertarian esperantists hold their annual meeting during the congress of SAT. This years' congress took place in The Hague, Holland; next years' will be held in the Swedish city Gotenburg. Believe me, such meetings are unforgettable experiences.

Yours truly,

Edward Vivancos

BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
Dear comrades!

First of all I must thank you for the great effort you made in reproducing my letters containing the Esperanto course, using the diacritical marks over those letters where necessary. I am discontinuing the Esperanto course because I have come to the conclusion that it may be too difficult and tedious to learn in such a manner. I don't even know if any comrades are interested anyway. But if there are some who agree with the Japanese Esperantist and should like to study it they can obtain learning aids from: Esperanto Book Service, Box 508, Burlingame, CA 94010. To my opinion the best study books are: Teach Yourself Esperanto by John Hartley & John Cresswell or Wells, and for further reading "Petro" which would require the Edinburgh Pocket Dictionary.

I must also ask you to reproduce the letters written in Esperanto as they are. It is necessary to put the diacritical marks over the right letters to get the right meaning of the word. I am hoping that more comrades of SAT or LL will contribute to the bulletin and all those letters will be written in Esperanto and hopefully some with meaningful content and for that reason it is necessary to have the letters reproduced correctly. Thanks for your effort, enclosing a contribution of \$5.00.

Kara Hirose! Mi ege ĝojis legi vian leteron en la bulteno, precipe pro la angla enkonduko, klarigante al la kamaradoj ĉi tie ke lernado de Esperanto por Japanoj estas pli facile ol la angla lingvo kaj ke estas "Justo" ke ni ĉiuj penu lerni la mondan lingvon por ke neniu havas avantaĝon super la alia. Nia Filozofio estas ke ni abolu la ŝtaton kaj ties apartajn naciecajn privilegiojn imperiismajn. Mi esperas ke multe pli da Kamaradoj ankaŭ el aliaj mondregionoj kontribuas al la SRAF bulteno Esperantlingve. Nur tiel oni povus detrui la barilon de izoleco kaj senpere interkomuniki ne devigata atendi ĝis troviĝas iu kompetenta tradukisto traduki ĉiun komunikadon en la diversajn naciajn lingvojn. Mi scivolas ĉu vi ricevis la LL de Oktobro 1975, kaj intencas respondi al ĝi. Mi kaj Bill estas Anarkiistoj Komunistaj laŭ la Filozofio de Petro Kropotkin. Laŭ mi la Anarkiismo povas nur disvastigi per neperforteco, per starigado de Asocioj

kiuj sin reciproke interhelpas kaj firme kontraŭstaras ĉian regulan starigitan de perfortuloj kiel ekzemple Politikaj gvidantoj. Ni devas disvolvi altegan etikan kondutsistemon al kiu ni ĉiuj obeas post kiam ni akceptis ĝin, kaj nur tiel varbi kamaradojn. Perfortecon uzu nur la Faŝistoj, kaj ĉiuj Politikaŝistoj. Do, por hodiaŭ sufiĉas. Liberecanajn kaj Sennaciecajn Salutojn.

Jurgen Kuhl, #412 - 371 Ellesmere Ave, Burnaby, BC V5B 3T1

QUEBEC, P.Q.:

Hi,

A friend of mine from France tried to get contact from american anarchist groups. It was in vain. There is not enough contact between anarchists all over the world!

Here in Canada, the libertarian movement is about nothing comparatively with Europe.

Did, in States, you got a federation? I would like to know more about what's happening to your side. Could you send me a newspaper or a review than you publish? Would appreciate very much. Thanks a lot. I hope to read from you.

Faternally, Bernard Estevez,
180 St. Luc #6, Quebec - 8, PQ, Canada

MONTREAL, QUEBEC:

Dear Friends,

Just received your all-Irish? issue-SRAF #48. Glad to hear that you will be using a more comprehensible (decimal) numbering system. Who said that Anarchy was confusion. But as for future issues--use legible ink! And try avoiding mixing up parts of letters (as Joffre Stewart's, etc). I might add that Anark-Info, CP 95, Stn. Place d'Armes, Montreal H2Y 3E9 will be out this winter. The rest of our publications (Vulture, La Feuille, etc) will follow. Oh yeah, the postal strike ended...as usual the stickers lost. They were conned by their good union leaders. Some people never learn.

Now a quick word on the bad word (general anathema of the Left)--capitalism. Seems this word generates fears as did the mention of the "Devil"/witchcraft did during the middle ages. Capitalism means--according to economists like Samuelson/Scott that the wealth is primarily the private property of somebody--the capitalist, which is derived

from the word capital. Of which, Adam Smith said in Wealth of Nations (1776): "Every individual endeavours to employ his capital so that its produce may be of greatest value. He generally neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. He intends only his own security, only his own gain. And he is in this led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it."

Now regarding our present (1976) day economic/capitalistic system: ours is a mix-economy (state & private capital). Further--monopolies, concentration of capital, etc--at the earliest stage of the Industrial Revolution till now prevented complete and free laissez-faire policies to operate. And (again) Adam Smith recognized that specialization and division of labour were limited by the extent of the market, ie, by the volume that can be sold. But specialization and division of labor, permitted labor-raising capital, thus enabling the anti-industrial society to evolve to post industrial societies of today. But it brought interdependence. Hence strikers are having more and more effects on the society as a whole. The above were taken from Samuelson/Scott, Principles of Economics. I tend to side with the author's description. But I depart from their simplistic view that govt is needed to control & supervise everything under the simplistic view of the common good (like who would build a searchlight to guard ships against rocky coasts, etc). The mistake that all anarcho-class-oriented people make is that they do not have the faintest idea as to how our present economic system works; or that they agree with Marx's economic views--a good critique but for the 19th century.

In conclusion--people make the difference not systems for individuals are the base of all power! Do I believe in a cut-throat capital(istic) system where dog eats dog? And where the orphan and the widow are thrown in the gutter, re Dickens 19th century novels? No--but in an egoistic capitalistic system as promoted by Adam Smith (see previous chapters). That I do. For humans ye are and human ye will remain. No need to change men (re Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid"; Mao & proletarian more (sic!); Bakunin & his marxist economic viewpoints, etc)--let us

do the utmost with what we have by using our unabated egoism for our own good & thus promoting (by invisible hand-re Adam Smith) society.

It does not follow that I accept any or all Marx's views. By society I mean grouping of individuals or associations. Here I based my assumptions on reading the economic (ravings) thoughts of anarcho-socialists in various zines around the world.

Just received SRAF bulletin #49--still in green ink. I'm ho daltonian, but why not use plain old black ink? About one Su Fabrick on page one of SRAF about my opinions on women--simple, I have none! I believe until someone proves to me the contrary that women are their greatest enemies. That men take pleasure in subjugating them I cannot deny it. But in my final analysis it's up to women to liberate themselves from this contemporary society--the fashion, beauty products (most are just junk), etc. From a philosophically point of view, women's thoughts & ideas have been non-existent until the 20th century. A sign of oppression? Rather a mark of insignificant behavior. That things are changing--for the better. But less talk about pigs (chauvinists maleists, etc) and more on theory, please.

In various SRAF bulletins there've been talks about the reluctance of Canadians about a Continental Conference where they would be sort of amalgamated. Well, I for one, being member of a so-called oppressed minority (French-Canadian). I do see the point of my Canadian fellows. But how far can we go in this direction? What about oppressed females (women), blacks, indians, Puerto Ricans, etc, et al? The best solution is to look at past conferences--in the 1880-1914 period there were many anarchist congresses (especially at Amsterdam)--each had delegates from many countries such as France, England, etc--so for the next, a Continental Conference why not adopt the same bearings--so you could have delegates from each US state, Canadian province, etc, each being equal to the other. I might add that although I do equate nationalism with fascism I'm still an autonomist (or independentist) meaning that I believe the right in each nation or ethnic grouping to form a separate entity as to preserve its character of the moment--re not deferring any isolation change, etc. That the preceeding isn't necessarily

an anarcho-individualist principle. I agree with that. Nonetheless I retain the separate option! Final word about letters in Esperanto--simple decency is to translate them or give a short resume in English for those who do not know Esperanto. SRAF bulletin is not yet an Esperantist zine, to my knowledge. Otherwise I could write to you in French (my native tongue) but it would be understood only by those who comprehend it, thus failing to communicate with other anarchists ((If you write in French, we'll type it. Those who write in Esperanto are trying to encourage others to learn that language.))

Last words--about Fulcrum, publication of Socialist Party of Canada (SRAF #48). Believe me, they are a true marxist organization. Since Bakunin wasn't a marxist (except for the economy side on many points), hence marxists are by definition autocrats and no such thing as a marxist-libertarian. Believing this is believing Lenin's words on the disappearance of the state. Haven't you been to Russia, China, etc lately?

Yours, R. Yves Breton

SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA:

Dear SRAF,

I just found out you have been sending both myself & my sister copies of SRAF, as we only need one just send it to Karen and Cindy Huntmer, 2452 Briarwood, San Jose, CA. Also, if there are any anarchists in San Jose, we would like to get together and (hopefully) get some action stirred up here. Keep up the good work & we will try to send a few dollars to help out sometime next week.

Hasta la victoria siempre,

Karen & Cindy Huntmer

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA:

Dear SRAfers

Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the law.

In SRAF #49, Jeff (with no last name) raises 3 points against Spooner-Tucker anarchism. 1st he says that earth's resources are finite. I reply: A. since extra-terrestrial migration is the next item on the evolutionary agenda, that would be irrelevant if true. B. It's not true, but only half-true. "Resources" as matter are finite (locally) but "resources" including energy are inexhaustible, since energy can neither be created nor destroyed, only transformed.

Jeff's second point is that "mass proliferation of production centers would lead to enormous redundancy and waste." A. Mass proliferation of production (breeding units) is the basic strategy of evolution (cf. Darwin) which works very well with its "enormous redundancy and waste." B. It is by no means clear that mass proliferation is necessary or inevitable in a Spooner-Tucker system. from General Systems Theory one would predict that the feedbacks in decentralized Spooner-Tucker economy probably would lead to continuous self-correction of the whole system according to cybernetic redundancy-of-control principles. Mutual banking is itself a self-correcting credit system. C. Jeff's view is again terracentric and ignores the oncoming extra-terrestrial migrations.

Jeff's 3rd point is that the evolutionary process by which various species find their ecological niches is a correct model from which to predict how various groups would function in a Spooner-Tucker economy. A. Humanity is a single species. Interspecies models are notoriously inaccurate for predicting intraspecies affairs. Cf. Montague on Darwinian vs. Kropotkinian models of evolution. B. Reasons for predicting that monopolistic groups such as Jeff fears will not be able to arise in Spooner-Tucker economies are given at length in Spooner's and Tucker's writings. C. Jeff's remarks identifying the Spooner-Tucker system with "free market capitalism" and/or "market capitalism (plus) free credit" indicate that Jeff does not understand the Spooner-Tucker system at all and has it confused with the Rothbard system or some other anarcho-capitalism system. Spooner and Tucker both called themselves socialists and were very careful about using words precisely.

Bob Shea objects that, since I have rejected anarcho-capitalism and anarcho-royalism, as self-contradictory, I shd also reject an anarchist army as self-contradictory. Not at all; it depends on how one defines anarchism. Shea, in his next sentence, defines anarchism as non-coercion, whereas I, following Tucker, define it as non-invasion. A's right to swing his fist ends where B's nose begins. If A refuses to recognize this limit and insists on swinging until B's nose is hit, A has

become invasive in the Tucker sense. In ending the invasion, B may be as "coercive" as She pleases without becoming "invasive" in this meaning, since B is resisting invasion. Multiply A by 10,000 and you have an anarchist army. Both are equally coercive, A on behalf of their claim ed "right to invade" and B on behalf of their "right to be let alone." The former right I deny; the latter right I endorse.

This is, of course, a matter of basic definitions and principles, not of strategy and tactics. Violence is a narcotic of tremendous appeal to the emotionally immature and I would look skeptically ten times at any contraption that claimed to be an anarchist army fitting my definition. But I do agree with Tucker that non-violence or non-coercion are long-range ideals, not moral absolutes. The invaded have the right to decide for themselves whether to employ passive resistance, the general strike, sabotage, TNT or whatever seems most likely to get the invaders off their backs. Those with a compulsion to preach ethical absolutes shd go preach to the invaders, since they obviously are in even greater need of moral instruction than the invaded, who just want to be left alone. In short, I do not accept any moral principle which amounts to a suicide pledge if confronted by a total scoundrel; but from since "hard cases make bad law" I do not follow the argument that leads from such defensive counter-aggression in emergency conditions to a general reliance of high explosives as the solution to all social problems. Intelligence decides most struggles, as Napoleon allegedly said to the guy who told him the biggest cannons always win. Which is why I end up once again with the slogan, Immortality, Starflight, Higher Intelligence, Bob Wilson.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA:

Dear Comrades of SRAF,

I've just received as sample copies of #48 & #49. I also read 3B that a friend supplied me. If I would be one that looks after ordinary advertizing how you publish the Bulletin, you would not hear from me, nevertheless I find that your intentions are good and the ideas it stands for are dear to me. Therefore I am including my subscription donation with the hope that you will realize

SRA Federation Bulletin #50, page ten

not to mail such sloppy copy as #48.

Here is what my copy retains. Of what ever you are going to publish it must be readable not marred up. #48 copy is awful, (I haven't read #49 yet); page 3, 4 the printing is good, you orto follow it through with the same type. Pages 8-12 are terrible, unreadable and in addition to be marred up with other printing. Page 17 is again marred up with other printing over it. Page 19 the same although the type is larger. Again page 21 is all marred unreadable and in addition it has the small type (why use it at all).

Best of all when possible to discard the small type and when in use the sheet should be clean, it had full of blots that I couldn't make anything out, it was unreadable.

By the way Marcus' article is a very important one and it deserves good large typing. He was plenty abused and unfounded attacked by the "Match" so-called editor. To be abused in the bulletin because of unreadable is a strong reflection on all you comrades. If the whole issues of #43 is such Marcus' article deserves to be reprinted. The "Match" editor need not expect anything better.

And so is page 23, marred and unreadable. However if any other copy #48 is any better please do mail me one. Let me hope that in the future I can well deservingly support it.

Sincerely yours,

Aaron Rogat

BUENA PARK, CALIFORNIA:

Dear S.Rev. Anarchists,

We hereby join. Have been busy promoting Wilson & Shea's 3 vol. paperback, ILLUMINATUS! Since it costs \$1.50 each, but is in all the discount stores for \$1.15 per vol couldn't SRAF supply it even cheaper? Hope everyone reads it for themself, or even for someone else. Please have them see this letter so that one of them may write us, if they care to.

Proclaim Liberty,

Rev. Marc Wruble

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI: I just got #48 and was pleased to feel in touch again. The woman at my old address failed to let me know it had arrived. Also got BS#2 and was pleased with overall improvement.

I'm looking forward to seeing midwestern friends at the planning meeting in Des Moines and at the gathering there in April or May. I may be prejudiced but I think the anarchists I've met from the midwest (at the Columbia and Minneapolis gatherings) are as fine a bunch of revolutionaries I've ever met. The vitality of the midwest groups and individuals promises to help the spread of anarchist ideas immensely. My Columbia comrades R and D have been visiting some of the geographically accessible groups in between planned gathering and have helped facilitate grassroots communication in an invaluable way. My trips have been limited to Columbia, since I'm doing a lot of reading, and personal development, as well as trying to contribute to our anarchist reading group here in St. Louis. Beginning in Feb. I'm organizing an anarchy-feminism study group here. Any suggestions for reading material are welcome, and needed.

Jay Amrod

KENT, OHIO:

Radicals are organizing a '76 United Action Front to secure Central Park during the Democratic National Convention, which will be held in NYC, July 7-18. "The purpose of the UAF is to oppose, on the streets, the candidates and system of capitalism, imperialism, repression and injustice," says the group which is asking "all revolutionary and progressive forces" to unite behind the action. For more, write United Action Front Box 237, Brooklyn, NY 11223.

Thanks, Cliff Berns, Box 85 Stopher Hall, Kent, Ohio 44243

LONDON, ENGLAND:

Free Fall Publications, Box 13, 197 King's Cross Road, London WC1X 9DB produced "Leaving the 20th Century". They are being sued by their printers for about \$2000. To raise money they are offering a 60% discount (where necessary) to anyone who'll buy several hundred copies, cash in advance--an they'll pay the postage.

Dear SRAFed:

Last year I talked to a lot of people in New England and Canada about SRAF. What I learned in Montreal was especially interesting. Anarchists there are chiefly worried about the dominant influence of the American culture. They feel that even in an anarchist network the Americans would have too much influence because of the overwhelming nature of the American culture. It is not only that they oppose the counter-culture, but that they are afraid of any aspect of the American culture. They are leery of being dominated in any way by any Americans. One Canadian said that if Canadians were in a U.S.-Canadian grouping, they would have to be "very abrasive." In two different conversations in Montreal, it was mentioned that Canadians had to worry more about governmental repression than anarchists in the States. In both conversations "R.C.M.P." was mentioned. It reminded me a lot of the way anarchists on the European continent talk; perhaps the conditions in Quebec are closer to those in Europe than to the U.S.

Jeff Stein was in from Chicago to talk to people from the two SRAF groups here. There were also visitors from Connecticut and Tallahassee to get information on SRAF. One of the things we talked about with Jeff was the possibility of a continental congress (or conference); then Jeff and I had an exchange of letters on this, but I will not speak for Jeff. He should speak for himself, if he wants to.

Many of us who were associated with the Working Committee believe that an anarchist conference and an anarchist festival are two aspects of the same thing. The success of the 1974 Hunter Festival/Conference was due to the fact that both of these aspects were happening at the same time, interweaving with one another.

Anarchist conferences in the past, whether in Europe or North America, have been very sterile and little has come out of them. One can think of half a dozen such anarchist conferences in the U.S., for example, one famous (or infamous) conference that was held at the end of the 1960s.

In these conferences, there was always emphasis on "serious discussion," "dedication," "important decisions." If any model was used for these conferences, it was that

of the Russian Communists before the Revolution. Such nonspontaneous, almost fully predetermined conferences of "serious" revolutionaries are authoritarian and hierarchical and, if the Russian Revolution is any example, lead to authoritarian and hierarchical "revolutionary" solutions.

This formal type of conference should be out of style with us on this continent. What is needed is a new model of conference. It should be a conference whose form is such that it is open to all people and groups that want to relate to it.

The fear has been expressed that an open conference could be taken over by hostile groups, but the fact is that the old-fashioned Russian Communist style of conference is the type that lends itself to takeovers through its emphasis on secrecy, hierarchy, and non-spontaneous procedures. One thing we at Freespace Alternate U have learned is that no one can take you over - short of armed violence - unless you set up the machinery that will allow them to take you over.

A conference should be primarily a means of communication that lets groups and individuals make their own decisions for action. It should function a lot like the former People's Meeting of the Kabouters of Amsterdam. (See issues #2 and #3 of ROOTS magazine.) A conference should be able to make decisions in a serious way, but nobody should feel bound by these decisions if they don't want to. I don't especially think that such a conference should vote; rather, decision should be made by consensus and dissenters should have the right that their opinions should be recorded as well. A tape recorder could be used to keep minutes of the meeting; the tape or a duplicate of it would then be available to all at any time.

What some people think of as the "recreational" nature of a conference is part of the very marrow of a conference. Was the Nobody for President Campaign at the 1974 Hunter conference a "recreational" event? It is true that it was sort of a fun or spoof, but I hope that what happened there flowed back into the thinking and talk aspect of the conference.

The Hunter conferences had many imperfections; they were like a groping toward a new nonhierarchical, nonpredetermined form of conference. The 1974 conference was the best of them, perhaps because it was set up to encourage participation and decision-making by anarchists from all parts of the North American continent. In this conference

there was an excellent opening session in which everyone that came was able to say their thoughts and what they expected from the conference. The opening session was conducted in an orderly fashion and provoked much favorable response. Then, continuously during the three days of the conference there was a Political Action Workshop: serious discussions from persons from all over the continent on the tasks of anarchist organization and strategy. At the same time, in other parts of the conference, were talks, demonstrations, movies, happenings, informational sessions, parties, etc. There was interplay between the "festival" sessions and the "conference" sessions. What happened at the Gustav Landauer seminar presumably affected the decisions at the Political Action Workshop. At the end of the conference was a final "plenary" session, which was to have tied the whole work of the three days together. But this session did not fulfill its promise. Among the reasons for this was the inexperience of the members of the Working Committee with this form of conference and the lack of a firm chairpersonship.

I hope that SRAF and the other anarchists on the continent can get together this year in a continental congress that would be a further development of this new model of conference. Not only would such a meeting be a source of publicity for anarchism, but it could also be a point of crystallization in which a general anarchist point of view for the continent might be arrived at by a face-to-face exchange in the realm of both theory and practice. Such a conference should be open to all who "fairly, sincerely, and nonviolently" wish to participate. Is it possible that such a conference/festival/congress could be held next year by SRAF groups and others somewhere in Canada or the U.S.? Is there any group that would be willing to give it a try?

Bob Palmer

NEW YORK, NEW YORK:

The Fourth Street i, Inc, Box 13, 56 Ave. B, NYC 10009 is a publication group which "taps the resources of the entire Lower East Side community in Manhattan."

FREXH MEADOWS, NEW YORK:
Friends,

I haven't seen a copy of SRAF since my letter was printed regarding our withdrawal from the IWW. I don't know if anyone bothered to deal with that in SRAF, but I do know it provoked a strange reaction locally and with some people I correspond with.

At this stage of the game we have the anarchists calling us "social democrats" and socialists calling us "freaks and anarchists". Sam Dolgoff says that both groups may be right. Mel Most has deviated from both groups, calling me "irresponsible, insincere and unworthy of the label 'wobbly'".

So much for name calling. What I'm really writing for is to let you know what is happening here. We recently agreed to federate with some anarchists from Boston, New Jersey and New York. These comrades are pretty diverse: some are from South America, one is a libertarian minded Zionist one is a vet, etc. The thing holding us together is a shared class perspective. We will be putting out a bulletin and will be trying to organize an east coast conference of libertarians with whom we share some agreement. We would like to broaden our federation to include people in the south as well as in our own communities.

right now we need help with the bulletin. We need advice on printing, news items contacts and money. Anyone sending a contribution will receive a subscription. We also have a good deal of literature on hand.

I should mention that I am solely responsible for what I write. There seems to be some confusion regarding this as Steve Parr is getting blamed for my occasional adventurism. I trust you are well and I hope to hear from you soon.

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(a xeroxed report describes their estimate of funds needed to produce their bulletin. items for printing, postage, & supplies come to just over \$100. They also have a catalog of 12 or 15 pamphlets by Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, Dolgoff, Malatesta, plus some by the Syndicalist Workers Federation, National Rank and File Movement, Socialist Party, US. Write to: Anthony Pestalozzi, 164-38 76th Ave., Flushing, NY 11366.

BRISTOL, RHODE ISLAND:

Comrades, Greetings. First off I'd like to say that on Mayday 1976 the oldest anarchist paper in the US, and other than Freedom, & the world will be holding a get together at the Loews Summit (E. 51st & Lexington Av) in Manhattan. That paper is the anarchist-communist Freie Arbeiter Stimme or in english Free Voice of Labor. The FAS was founded in 1890 and have been serving the Yiddish speaking anarchist movement since then. Paul Avrich (author of Kronstadt 1921, & editor of The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution, Russian Rebels, The Russian Anarchists) will speak, in English, on the history of the FAS. The FAS is also looking for younger comrades who know Yiddish or willing to learn it, to help continue the paper when the older comrades pass on or are given the chance to rest their tired bodies.

We're continuing to put out Black Flag of A & any interested comrades take note: copies are available for 13¢ or a stamp.

BF of A is a class war-political prisoner defence bulletin printed roughly every 6 weeks. We can use information pertaining to the above. We're part of the International Anarchist Black Cross and a WAP Black Cross Comm. What we're also doing in this field is collecting money & goods for comrades & non-A both in the US & overseas. If you can spare some change or old, not in really bad shape, clothes send it to us or to a Black Cross committee & it'll get to prisoners in need. Since the social revolution hasn't happened yet we can only help these prisoners out in both material & defence/offence help.

The Anarchist Black Hammer #5 is out & is looking good. The best article in the quarterly is the one by Peggy Hopper & Steve Foldz titled "I Don't Want to Change My Lifestyle--I Want to Change my Life." A good article on Martin Sostre but a little too late since he was pardoned by Gov. Carey (NY) this past month. A well done analogy of the IWW & the left (certain aspects such as free speech & civil disobedience) in the 1960s. This article is nothing new to people who've had enough wobbly history up to their neck, but it's well researched. A few other pieces of printed material worth noting: Beast & Monster, by Johann Most (35¢) available from the Match! This is a good fiery essay against private property. Decentralization, by Rudolf Rocker available (37¢) from FOM. A few of us had a

hard time understanding it at first since Rocker uses a lot of references to Greece (ancient) We don't recommend it for agitational purposes/ Soldiers & Strikers, by Vincent Pinto (United Front Press), this was printed in 1973 & talked about the US in Vietnam in the last part but a good short history of soldiers as strike-breakers. From Venezuela (Ruta) we received Bakhtin & Nechaev in spanish. This was the November 1975 (#25) issue. This is a reprint of Paul Avrich's pamphlet. They have a list of anarchist groups from around the world.

For all you folks who liked the other Emma Goldman works put out by the Drinnons, they've printed (Shocken Books) Nowhere At Home; letters from exile of EG and AB. It's a good book--I've not read the whole thing but I'm rewriting what the people in the collective wrote about it--& has not only letters from EG to AB but both of them to both anarchists & non-A's. In this book both talk about the dictatorship in the USSR & also a good letter(s) on the role of violence as a form of revolutionary struggle. It should be noted that EG goes back on her firm stand of the attentat, which we feel is good. It's well worth looking into, unfortunately it's not printed in paperback yet.

A book in which the title is misleading is Jewish Radicals from Czarist Stetl to London ghetto by William Fishman (Pantheon). Fishman talks more about the anarchists than of the other left tendencies. It has about 100 pages on anarchists (a lot about Rudolf Rocker) in the young trade union movement. It may be noted that the anarchists at one point held the most support among the Jewish workers than did the marxists. The book is well worth reading. From Boston comes Black Circles, an anarchist-communist paper. The past few issues had articles on organization, the French postal strike, bussing & racism, poetry, food-coops, & short reviews. From the North Country Anarchists & Anarcha-Feminists comes, vol 1, #1, Soil of Liberty. This issue has a good article on anarcha-feminism & a good article on the S-1 bill. Anarchy 17 from England includes such articles as Abortion & Racism & a rebuttal on the above article.

In Bull #48 we must commend Glenn Meredith on his anti-capitalist stand. This letter was in turn a commendation of Jeff Stein's letter in an earlier bull. It's true anarchism & capitalism cannot go hand in hand. Laissez-faire capitalism is no substitute

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for anarchist-communism which is the (besides anarcho-syndicalism&libertarian socialism) only solution we have to capitalist or "humanist" exploitation of one person(s) by another. If we change "hard line" capitalism for a softer kind we've gone nowhere. To us anarchists a boss is a boss no matter if it's in a large plant like US Steel in Pittsburgh or a small shop in any small town. We can't say that a capitalist is good because s/he gives us an extra 20 min. for lunch because all people who're wage slaves will still remain that under any type of capitalist system. Capitalism is capitalism&there is no two ways about it.

As for what Joffe says our collective makes an authoritarian statement when we say bourgeois letters shouldn't be printed is absurd. After much thought on this matter we feel, as does these 2 other comrades, that we must define our organization. Are we to remain open to rightwing anarchists who preach freedom on one day&capitalism the next, we say no! As Glenn Meredith says "to be an anarchist is to be anti-capitalist" and that's how we feel. If we want to be exploited then stick with outright fascism (with it's own brand of capitalism) but if we want freedom then capitalism must be thrown off&anarchist-communism brought in. Revolution isn't a game we "play"--it's for keeps&capitalism in any form is part of that old system we're trying to rid ourselves of.

Comrades, a definition of who&what we are is a start but after that we must have a pattern to follow&start to make some headway. If SRAF would just do this we may go somewhere. Our gropp has made that definition but have no workable organization to channel our energy through. We've made good contacts with people thru the Bull but that's about it. We hear the Working Committee is going nowhere in its chore of setting up for a continental congress. SRAF as a national anarchist organization is, we're sorry to say, going nowhere at its present date. We've even spoken to other libertarians&they didn't know SRAF even existed! If SRAF is to be a good mobile means (which we still think it could be) of getting anarchists together, &even marxists who're tired of the statism&rigid organization of the marxist groups of today, then we shd try harder to make it just that. You see we can't all sit in our chairs&say that we want change. We have to make it ourselves. There are many

comrades out there who're travelling&organizing for SRAF but if other people don't we can't have a good organization let alone a libertarian revolution.

Comrades, it's time we look at ourselves our organization(s)&collectives&decide where we're headed. We shd really think of how our organization can bend&move with the world. The time has come. We can't let all the stalinists get ahead&fool the people again. They've the organization&the cadres&are way ahead of us. The state too is prepared to give it to us. We at Solidarity feel the time's now to redefine&rebuild the whole left wing libertarian movement in the US or else blow away like a crumpled piece of paper. Look at the present not at the future

Fraternally, the people at
Solidarity

GLENCOE, ILLINOIS:

Dear SRA Friends,

In discussing the process by which we can move from state-run society to free society, I have reached the turning-point--revolution. The earlier steps--education, organization, proliferation, confrontation--have all taken place within the framework of society as we know it today. If these previous steps have been successful, society is ripe for revolution. The new society is ready to break out of the shell of the old.

Unfortunately, we tend to be unimaginative in our ideas of revolution. When some people talk about revolution, they seem to be visualizing it as a rerun of Russia in 1917 or maybe China in 1948. There is a tendency to forget, or to view as accidental the fact that everywhere, during the 20th Century, Marxist Communism has been anarchism's worst enemy. The two Red revolutions, in turn, drew their inspiration from Cromwell's 17th Century Puritan revolution and the French Revolution of 1789. It can't be pointed out too often that all four of these great modern revolutions ended in military dictatorships; We aren't interested in helping make dictatorships; therefore this vision of revolution as armed struggle doesn't relate to us.

When I use the word revolution, I mean it the way it's used in terms like "Industrial Revolution", "Sexual Revolution", "Neolithic Revolution" or "Scientific Revolution". In

this sense, revolution means a profound change in a culture, producing a whole new kind of society. When we look beyond the rhetoric of the violent revolutions of our times we see that despite all their claims they brought nothing new into the world. Bolshevism, for example, is just a more efficient version of Czarism. The kind of total transformation these other, cultural revolutions brought about was accompanied by occasional violence, but violence wasn't really relevant to them.

It is in the nature of anarchism that it can't effectively foment or participate in armed revolution. Let's take it step by step: Anarchism opposes government. Government is the use of coercive force on people to subjugate them. Coercive force is most effective when exerted in a disciplined manner by an authoritarian, hierarchical organization. The more individual freedom the members of a fighting force have, the less effective that fighting force will be. The success of guerrilla warfare doesn't disprove this. Guerrilla warfare is just a phase in any armed struggle. It's usually superseded by a conventional warfare phase as in China or Vietnam. It follows that an anarchist fighting force will be less effective than an authoritarian one. The anarchist armed force will become more effective only to the degree that it becomes less anarchist. Nor is it likely that anarchists could temporarily accept hierarchical discipline and then cast it off after victory. A victory won by force of arms has to be maintained by force of arms.

Anyway, I'll have more to say on revolution in my next letter.

Bob Shea

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS:

Dear Friends:

Enclosed is a contribution to carry on the work of the bulletin. We need to see that the bulletin continues as a means of communication between anarchists in different parts of the country.

Yours in solidarity,
Mike Parisi

Comrades and Fellow Workers,

This letter is written to clarify a couple of points made by fw Dean Seacock in his last letter to the bulletin. First, I did not write the document mentioned but merely distributed it on behalf of fw Dölgoß. Secondly, the document was meant for internal discussion not for general distribution. The fellow worker should ask fw Dölgoß how he feels about such distribution. I, myself, am opposed to outside forces interfering in the internal affairs of the IWW. So much for that.

On another subject. I feel that the time has come for the libertarian socialist movement (ie, anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, anti-Leninist marxists, etc) to build an organization with a unified theory and practice. This organization would not be a new leadership but an organized tendency which could intervene in the class struggle to counteract the counterrevolutionary activities of the Nazi-Bolsheviks of every description (stalinist, maoist, trots, guevarists, etc). SRAF is not an organization of this type and I doubt if it will evolve into such an organization.

I invite personal responses: Mike Hargis, c/o DeVries, 3820 N. Fremont, Chicago IL 60613. I will be at this address at least until the end of April. After that I don't know.

En lucha, Mike Hargis

SRAFeds,

1914 Gli anarchici riuniti in convegno a Pisa, riconfermano la propria avversione per ogni guerra. In the Year of the BOMB-XXXI.

I am glad that Susan Fabrik disagrees with what she thinks I said, because I pretty much agree with her. (I didn't say what she thinks I said). However, I don't agree where she suggests that "one repressive social attitude (...male supremacy)" can be replaced with an "equally repressive new one (female supremacy)". Not outside the home at any rate. The authoritarian organization of society is inherently biased toward male domination. Women cannot substitute themselves for men in structures of super-subordination, even tho there are more of them. But some women, can, of course, fit themselves into male domination structures quite as capably as any son-of-a-bitch around.

the Queen of England, Indira Gandhi, Golda Meir. Ashley Montague wrote something regarding the natural superiority of women (which I have not read). If this natural superiority extends to moral superiority, then women shd be biased in favor of pacifism&an-archism, not against them.

Dean Selock asserts that I pin my reputation on "verbose stupidity". Error. Other people pin a reputation on me for what they characterize as "verbose stupidity". One does not pin a reputation on oneself, and if one did, one wd probably choose praiseworthy qualities to pin it on. Other than that, I have no idea what Selock means when he charges me with being "sexist, racist, elitist". It might help if he wd evidence his claims.

Jeff welcomes comments on IWW. IWW withholds taxes, I understand, from employees' salaries (or wages?)--thereby helping Kissinger to get done his current dirty work in Angola, Portugal, wherever. IWW shd stop paying taxes. I'm sure it did not do such things in 1905. On a couple occasions I have detected Zionist sentiment (defense for the State of Israel) around the IWW hall in Chicago. Of course, such sentiment has no place in an organization which is purportedly "...of the world". Zionism organizes Arab labor in Israel for exploitation at the lowest wages--not to mention the injustice done to refugees who cannot go back where they came from. My reading of Industrial Worker has been spotty, but I don't remember any examinations of the Zionist injustice. The IW shd attack Zionism in no uncertain terms. I do not charge conspiracy, Illuminati or otherwise, but quiet on the issue of Zionism can amount to complicity in anti-Palestinian bias. The IWW might join the search for peace in the Mediterranean East, partly by printing condemnations of Zionism (In IW for example) and circulating them amongst Palestinians so as to attract them to our libertarian, anti-militarist tradition. (It wd help if IWW cd be pacifist). An-archism, of course, is biased against every nationalism, but the attack on Zionism may be especially strategic as an attack on the US Ruling Class (CFR) since the composition of that class is 25% Jewish and therefore, the Ruling Class bias for Israel might be more stubborn than in the cases of Greece

Angola, Chile, etc. However you want to argue it, we libertarians have probably given too little attention to being anti-Zionist, especially considering that Israel is nuclearly armed&no doubt ready to precipitate the eschatological Holocaust.

M.Weber (Hi!) writes that "the age of computers and technology is here to stay". Computerized nuclear missile technology can bring it all to term in 20 min. The ecological crisis can cancel the whole culture, technology, technologists&all in perhasp 30 years of uninterrupted progress or "pogress". The an-archist attitude, I wd suggest, is not one of resignation to progress, but of as much resistance to progress as may be appropriate.

Michael of Yelm suggests that "People have to be educated slowly". Again I refer to the speed of the nuclear missile that you may understand why I try to do education in one 45 min speech, when I have one to give. That is already more than twice the time a missile takes, fellow agitators. I do not have the skill of a Dick Gregory, therefore I cannot hold people for 2 hour sittings. And Michael speaks of bringing propaganda down to "a level where people can understand it". Whay I fear is that when propaganda is brought down to such levels, it has lost all an-archist significance&perhaps functions only as a method of building rapport between the propagandist&the propagandized. A waste of time or worse. People must also learn our concepts if they're to understand us. Communication is a two way street.

The Hunter Libertarian Alliance joins us on the basis of the SRAF declaration which perhaps demonstrates the point that we have not made it enuf known that we have principles.

Mike 10003 writes that "anarchism is a social and political (?) force". Because anaarchism is a social force it is an anti-political force. Along the same lines: I note that in Australia Acracia is the name of the Black Cross journal but the Brisbane Self-Managers seem to identify themselves with the opposite&contrary to Acracia: democracy (workers council democracy). Let's hope that Acracia prevails in Australia.

Compliments on the new accuracy in typing these letters. May such accuracy continue. But I wd appreciate an ink easier to read than that green.

But when we get to Anarres, Rosanne Adelman, how shall we connive to overthrow the co-rupt philistine bureaucracy of the one big union?

PS: On my way to the library where I started this letter, one John Starrs gave me a lift. His other passenger was a dude whose friend had been offered \$15,000 per year to fight in Angola. This dude's friend is signing up for 2 years. This is about as close as I've come, in a personal way, to the strife in Angola. A luta continua: Abaixo o Estado!

Joffre Stewart, advocate of the ANTI-Christ, 6114 S. May St., Chicago 60621

Hi SRAF people,

A group of about 12 of us are in the process of forming a Workers' Center, which will be somewhere on the far north side of Chicago. It'll combine a libertarian socialist-feminist bookstore section with a library, and will have a humber of ongoing projects such as self-defense classes for women and counselling in on-the-job legal rights, workplace organizing, obtaining welfare, unemployment comp, food stamps, etc. It'll open sometime in late summer or early fall.

I'm pretty excited about this, as it could lead to alot of other projects as well. We're a multitendency group (left Marxists, independant radical, socialist/feminist, anarchist, and anarco/feminist) and yet our differences have been surprisingly minimal. Other Chicago people interested are invited to participate. Until we have a more definite mailing address, we can be reached at my home address: T. Walls, c/o 724 W. Irving Park Rd, Chicago 60613 or call 312-281-7551 and ask for me, Tia, or Joe. We'd also appreciate catalogs with bookstore discount rates from publishing groups or, better yet, an offer to have us sell your stuff on consignment. Our financial resources are limited, which is why we're not opening that soon. Financial contributions are especially welcome.

As a former anarchist, it feels good to be able to work with anarchists. As the country drifts closer and closer to outright fascism, those of us in the libertarian socialist movement, whether we consider ourselves left-Marxists, anarco-syndicalists, socialist/feminists, anarco/feminists, anarco-communists, council-communists, radical feminists, lesbian feminists,

situationists, or whatever, have a common interest in banding together against capitalism and their Leinist false opposition. So long as we remain scattered and isolated, the Leninists, particularly the Stalinist-Maoist variety, will continue to appear to be the only opposition to monopoly capitalism.

The anarchist who warned me about joining NAM were right. NAM still has a few scattered groups of Marxists and anarchists and feminists within it, but the Leninists are rapidly taking over. I left the organization when it became clear the Chicago chapter was Leninist-dominated and rather viciously anti-worker in practice.

The SRAF bul. has definitely improved over how it was 4 years ago when I first saw it. There remains, however, alot of ego tripping and not a whole lot of discussion around actual projects going on. Black Star, I think, is pretty good. The only major criticism of it I'd make is the name. The color black is usually associated with black liberation nowadays rather than anarchism, thus making the name Black Star mis-leading.

Incidentally, I intend to start writing SRAF regularly. I no longer feel particularly bitter towards anarchists and I prefer to hope that by now those anarchists who find me horrifying for rejecting anarchism are now willing to criticize me where they think I'm wrong rather than insinuating that I'm a Maoist, a male guilt tripper (as if the only thing that could motivate a male to be a feminist is guilt!) or a "violentist" whatever that means. I can be and am pretty reasonable, believe it or not, when people are reasonable with me. That isn't to suggest that when I'm unreasonable, it's always someone else's fault. All I ask, as I asked once before in SRAF, is that those anarchists who think they have a monopoly on freedom realize that they have alot to learn from non-anarchists, just as we have alot to learn from anarchists.

joy in struggle, Tyrone Walls

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA:

Dear SRAfers:

I think it only natural that anarchists should relate to people through their common experiences. Something we do not always do. Most people, no matter at what level

their political consciousness happens to be, are open to ideas that will change their lives for the better. The desire for more freedom is too ingrained in the human psyche to ever be snuffed out. But too often left wing groups, especially Leninists, ride roughshod over those personal things that affect peoples' daily existence. The end goal, whether the revolution, the liberation of the working class, etc, obscures too much personal reality.

The old saying 'a bird in hand is better than two in the bush' has a concrete meaning for most people. Abstractions and find sounding words are great, but unless one is caught up in the maelstrom of a revolution and can put them into practice, one's life remains the same despite all. That is why liberal reformers (who can offer amelioration of various minor problems) have so much sway and popularity. But of late with the recession, and the states turn toward more repression (S-1, etc), rather than reforms has opened up new possibilities.

Opinion polls, surveys, one after another, have shown an increasing willingness of the people to accept some variant of socialism. Business spokespeople have left no doubt in anyones mind that 'private enterprise is more endangered today than anytime in our history.' The propaganda barrage on TV and radio commercials extolling the virtues of 'private enterprise' surely give credence to the above statement. Have you ever wondered why they almost always use the term 'private enterprise' rather than capitalism? Perhaps 'capitalism' sounds too crude and obnoxious even for the capitalists themselves. Definitely for most of the populace.

Of course, there is one word capitalism likes even less: anarchism. they never miss a trick when it comes to substituting anarchism for chaos, destruction or turmoil. It is no secret why pollsters use the word socialism rather than anarchism on their surveys. This, despite the fact that the polls reveal widespread acceptance for the idea of workers control and self-management. Goals best represented by anarchism, not state socialism. But then capitalism and anarchism have never been able to reach those 'historic compromises' that many state socialists have.

There is in fact a war of ideas going on right now. The battlefield is the factory, the school, even our own living rooms. The media is bombarding millions of people every day with the modern version of the new wine in old bottles trick.

As anarchists we can sit around, talking to ourselves. Pride ourselves that we in our small numbers, are standard bearers of a revolutionary idea that truly can lead to a freer and more humane society. But folks, it will all go to naught, if we do not throw down the gauntlet. We must enter into this war of ideas. Our ideas must touch a responsive chord in the minds of millions of men and women in this country, or remain isolated and irrelevant.

It is easy to prattle on about what we must do. How to do it is the problem that stares in our faces. SRAF has expanded into Black Star, which is good. But I have a feeling Black Star has little circulation outside our anarchist circle. I think it time to advertize the journal in all the alternative papers we can throughout the country and straight ones too if we can afford it. We should then accept subscriptions.

We can also make use of alternative papers to write articles on anarchism or at least articles infused with anarchist ideas. We can form speakers bureaus, participate in radio talk shows, public access TV programming spots, etc. We are not helpless.

The capitalists may control most of the media. But it is they who are on the defensive. It is they who are desperately trying to convince people that the old ways are still good (despite heaps of evidence to the contrary). We may not control the media, but we are strong because we have an idea whose meaning is being realized by more and more people as an alternative to the present morass.

People will not take up the spirit of revolt if they feel the result will be worse than they already have, or that their efforts are doomed to failure. We must convince people that anarchism and their desires for more freedom and self control are synonymous. We must convince people (including ourselves) that we have the strength and ability to make our ideas and aspirations a reality.

Glenn Meredith

CHARDON, OHIO:

MIDWEST COMMUNICATION & ORGANIZING
CONFERENCE to be held May 29-31, 1976.

The purpose is to focus on communication & building the groundwork for a midwest organization. Registration deadline: April 10, 1976. For more information write: New World Collective, 1821 8th St., Des Moines, IA 50314. The conference will be held in Des Moines.

The following are invited: "anarcha-feminists, anarchists, social libertarians, situationists, anarchist-syndicalists, radical feminists, council communists, yippies, libertarian marxists, wobblies, and fellow travelers.

This is a working conference and preparation will aid its success. The conference will be formed into workshops, general meetings, caucuses and sharing groups.

A rough agenda includes the following: Introduction; statements of purpose, setting final agenda, invitations to caucus, workshops; general meeting for workshop reports, workshops for mechanics of building communication & organization, general meeting for decisions to implement communication & structure, practical skills communication workshops, general meeting for discussion of practical application of these skills, special interest workshops, general meeting for resolution, rap up, reports & criticism-self-criticism.

Full details of costs and expenses will be made at the conference. If you need aid to attend, notify us & we'll sort something out.

Support tasks: cooking, dishes, children care, conference communication, etc, will be shared by all at the conference. Des Moines & Ames people will design the structure needed to carry these tasks out.

The deadline for feedback & suggestions is March 6.

The week of March 6 we'll send out a detailed agenda incorporating suggestions along with a preferential rating form asking you to rate the workshops according to your interests. We need this info to prepare the necessary materials & to eliminate workshops people have expressed little or no interest in.

Registration deadline if April 10, 1976. No exceptions. If you aren't registered, you won't be seated. We have limited facilities, so we need to know the number of people attending.

REGISTRATION FORM

name: _____

address: _____

phone: _____

organization: _____

method & route of travel (for possible help to people hitching rides to the conference): _____

AGITATIONAL MATERIALS:

Action for Forgotten Women, c/o 1601 Sedgefield St. #E, Durham, NC 27705 asks help for the struggle for human dignity at Women's Prison in Raleigh, NC.

"The Vision Our Time Demands" is now available from Michael Tobin, Box 10638, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

The Libertarian Book Club is holding a centennial meeting on Bakunin. Speakers include Sam Dolgoff, Olga Lang, Paul Avrich. Friday March 5, 1976, 7 pm and Workman's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave (29 St), New York, NY. Write to LBC, Box 842, GPO, NYC 10001

SOIL OF LIBERTY, Box 3840, Loring Station, Mpls, Mn 55403 has appeared in its 2nd issue.

EQUALITY is a libertarian review produced by the Kropotkin Society, Box 2418, Evansville, IN 47714.

The David Fine Freedom Committee, Box 93, Madison, WI 53701 is looking for help to defend him from charges resulting from the bombing of the Army Math center in Madison.

Vacant Lots Press, 2743 Maryland Ave, Baltimore, MD 21218 has printed Research Group One Report #21: "The Conditions of Feminist Research. 75¢.

Sweet Gherkins, Box 822, Mustatine, Ia 52761

First Person Singular, Box 9801, Colorado Springs, Co 80932

ED-SRAF, Bx327, Stn A, Edmonton, Alberta
 SRAF-Tucson, Bx3684, Tucson, Az 85720
 TucsonAnarcho-Feminists, Bx3382, 85719
 Van-SRAF, Bx74, SUB, UBC, Vancouver, B.C.
 Nada, #15/1209 Thurlow St, Vancouver, BC
 Berkeley SRAF, Bx460, Berkeley, Ca 94701
 SRAF-LA, c/o 5057 Meridian, LA, Ca 90047
 SRAFprint, Bx4091, Mtn. View, Ca 94040
 SF-SRAF, 1214 2nd Ave, San Francisco, Ca 94122
 CC-SRAF, 4206 N. Kilpatrick, Chicago, Il 60630
 MayDay, Bx176, Evanston, Il 60204
 CIA, c/o 2707 Lincoln Way#305, Ames, Io 50010
 MFA, c/o Bx108, Orono, Me 04473
 SRAF-A2, 4321 Michigan Union, AnnArbor 48104
 MesabaSRAF, c/o Malatesta Farm, Cotton, Mn 55724
 TwinCities SRAF, 1205 E. 21st#202, Mpls, Mn 55404
 FoM, Box72, Bidwell Stn, Buffalo, NY 14222
 FreespaceAU, 339 Lafayette, NYC 10012(228-0322)
 HLA, Roosevelt House, 47 E. 65th, NYC 10021
 Hal-SRAF, c/o 1230 Church St#7, Halifax, NS
 Oberlin SRAF, c/o Bx182, OCMR, Oberlin, Oh 44074
 SRAF, c/o Bx7146, Stn. A, 17 Front St, Toronto, Ont.
 Friends of Kropotkin, c/o USC, UWO, London, Ontario
 Makhno Brigade, Bx1625 IUP, Indiana, Pa 15701
 SeaSRAF#2, 1815-18th Ave, Seattle, Wa 98122
 SRAF, Box 293, Yelm, Wa 98597
 Madison SRAF, Bx1163, Madison, Wi 53701
 Mil-SRAF, Bx92246, Milwaukee, Wi 53202

We in the SRAFederation are building mutual responsibilities towards one another on a basis of equality and voluntarism. All who join us in federation communicate to each other ideas, information, feelings, criticism encouragement and analysis when we feel it will be of help to the widely scattered groups of anarchist agitators within which most of us work. We share an average cost of \$3 a year to buy paper and ink and pay postal taxes. If you can't manage that, you can depend upon those of us who can to contribute more, both in terms of money and communication.

+++++ +++++ +++++

"BLACK STAR"

SRAF's journal of anarchism, available now from: Box 92246, Milwaukee, Wi 53202

SRAFprint Co-op, Box 4091
 Mountain View, CA 94040

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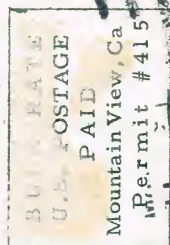


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